and envy at these fair creatures who continued work and home in one long pleasant Burmese continuity. They are girls from the ages of sixteen upward. Probably their parents set them up in these stalls, each separated from its neighbour by a stack of cotton bales, six or seven stalls on a long platform. They come there in the mornings, dressed in crisp muslin jackets and bright longyis, their faces powdered with thanakha and the Five B's, flowers in their hair, and fragrant ground bark on their hands and feet. They open up shop and dust with feather brooms while they shout across to each other the news of the previous evening. Then the whole day unfolds, calling out to food sellers and treating their friends to a succession of delicacies, button-holing the young boy who hawks magazines and tuppenny novels, and reclining against a pile of the tha-yet-hte longyis to read these romances, helping each other to fold up the pieces after a troublesome customer has gone, anything but making an earnest business of their profession. They always looked so cool and pretty and indifferent beside the small Indian storekeepers who flanked their platforms and solicited passers-by for patronage. "Oh to be a bazaar girl!" I still thought when I was in the University; "to pass unchaperoned days, reading novels and eating sweets, to have time to be powdered and neatly dressed, and only now and then be disturbed by someone who wants to buy a longyi." 361 438

Our starched white muslin jackets are made out of fine transparent muslin manufactured in England, and sent out in bales of 11 yards with the quality stamped in Burmese characters, and on the jacket a florid illustration of the quality-name—names such as *Nat-thami, Sein ta-hsok, Shwe Pan-gaing, Mè Nyo:* Heavenly Damsel, Cluster of Diamonds, Golden Spray of Flowers, Dusky Maiden—and imported by both Indian and Burmese traders. 294 439 563

The making up of the jackets was the monopoly of Chinese tailors; our *tayok-kalay*, little Chinaman, lived in the crowded quarter of Yegyaw in a barnlike room which was carpenter's shop at one end and tailor's at the other. The tailor's end had a row of shelves along the wall in to which the finished garments and uncut material were shoved, higgledy-piggledy in paper bags on which the merest scribble denoted owner and date of order. In front of this was the counter on which the cutter was at work, and separating it from the carpentery end was a table at which one or two half-clad men always seemed to be eating noodles or reading a Chinese newspaper, of which there were three in Rangoon. In spite of this, the tayok-kalay never confused an order for garments which had to fit so meticulously and always delivered them in a snow-white condition. He charged 9 annas for each fine handsewn garment, and for modern girls managed to cut twelve out of the eleven-yard piece. This 294 563 441 465

294 563 441 • 466 [405 803] was sweated labour indeed. Possibly he paid the cutter two pice, the seamstress three annas, the button-loop maker two annas, for each garment. We met one of the button-loop makers one evening as she brought a pile of finished garments, a Chinese girl of ten years, with eyes which looked tired from two years of exquisite hemming on the ten button loops of each Burmese jacket, nine jackets each day. When we had got our jackets the tayok-kalay added up our three bills into one on his abacus. There may be many ways of using an abacus, but our tayok-kalay's was bafflingly simple. He had each bead on the first rung representing one anna, each on the second one representing four of these, that is four annas; and each on the third rung representing four of these again, that is one rupee, there being sixteen annas in the rupee. When he wanted to add Rs. 5/10 and Rs. 9/11 for example, he represented the first sum on the three rungs above the median bar by drawing down towards it, two beads of the first rung, two of the second and five of the third. Then he represented the second sum on the rungs below the bar by drawing up to it three beads of the first rung, two of the second and nine of the third. He then counted up the sum of all the beads along the bar, pushing back every four beads of the first rung and pulling down one of the second as equivalent, pushing back every four of the second and pulling down one of the third again as its equivalent. All this he did with lightning speed, and, counting finally one bead on the first rung, one on the second and fifteen on the third, he announced Rs. 15/5, a sum which my sisters had arrived at long before by mental arithmetic and had, in vain, been trying to thrust on his notice.

441 563 I needed also a superior quality comb to wind my hair around in a knot at the back of my head, having given away the old one I had as a curiosity in England. My mother took me to the west end of Rangoon where the Chinese community are concentrated in about six or seven streets, mostly narrow streets of three storeyed houses packed closely together, containing valuable ivory and mother-of-pearl inlaid chairs within and jewellery behind safe doors, but bordering deep and dirty drains and congestion in the street. These were houses of rich men who got their money from trading in indigenous products; by long years of industry building up lakhs of money from the supplying of onions, coconuts, potatoes and other dry goods to the retail shops in bazaars. In the Strand running along the south end of these streets and in the broad Latter Street in the centre of the quarter, were the big emporiums of these traders. One of my father's greatest friends U Chein Swan was a Burma Chinese of this description, and we stayed for short periods in his three-storeyed house in 20th Street when we were children. With

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

footpaths, and with a huge green cheroot in his mouth, leisurely contemplates the operation. Everything is now in the hands of nature, and the agriculturist may lounge round his farm in peace till November; unless, indeed, excessive rain floods the ground and rots the crop, when a new planting out has to be gone through. The harvesting near Rangoon is entirely done by men from Upper Burma, or even by Indian coolies. They work for very little, and it saves the farmer a good deal of time and dignity to get all the cutting done for him. Accordingly, from October till December the steamers down the Irrawaddy used to be crowded with King Thibaw's subjects, all of whom had to leave behind them with their Myo-sa, or his delegate the Myo-wun, who vicariously "ate" the township between them, a pledge either of property or of some member of their family, that they would return to their country again. When they got back, very little of their hard-earned gains escaped the voracity of the royal officials. Now they come down by train, and after a trip or two learn enough to keep their money from enterprising fellow-countrymen. These anyathas, as they are called, behave remarkably well in British territory, notwithstanding the assertions of the rural police, who, being unable to detect dacoits, declare that these are all Upper Burmans who have come down for the harvest. They are really, however, mostly simple, quiet people, who are kept very much in awe by the bluster and town-knowledge of the down-country farmers, and work away zealously with their queer sickles, looking like the ordinary English article worn to half its original size by long use. It is worthy of notice that the grain is not mown close to the ground as in Europe. Except where there is a market for straw, very little more than the ears are cut off, and the straw burnt in the hot weather of March and April supplies a scarcely-needed fertilising to the soil. The reapers usually receive their payment from the farmer in grain, but they naturally convert this into money, or more portable goods, before they start off home again.

It does not take long to cut the crop, and then the corn is brought in to the homestead, commonly on rude sledges, more seldom in carts. The threshing-floor does not take

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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English rule and civilisation, but in one sense it is true. In Upper Burma every one is taught in the monasteries, and having no other relief from Pali doxologies, becomes saturated with the phraseology and ideas of the zāts. Thus, from the theatrical point of view, the Mandalay youth starts with a distinct advantage over the Lower Burman who potters away in lay and elementary Government schools
545 over addition and multiplication and the sterilities of the First Reader. To qualify for the first ranks, therefore, the ambitious Peguer starts for the Royal City of Gems, practises as much as he can there, and watches the most celebrated players. Then, after a time, he obtains an engagement, and turns up in Rangoon as a quasi anya tha. The stage managers, usually old actors who have made some money and are inclined to take their ease, go up to Mandalay during the rains, when comparatively little is doing, the wet, combined with the four months of Lent, making pwès few and far between. There they cast about and get together a company, entering into a written engagement with the actors, male and female, for the season, which lasts about seven months, from Ta'saungmôn to Nayôn (roughly, November to May). The manager makes all arrangements, and usually takes up his headquarters in some town or large village whence he can easily move to the surrounding places
● [465] where the company may be wanted. The salaries paid are very good. A first-class prince or princess commands from 800 to 1000 rupees for the season. A good lubyet, or jester, will get five or six hundred. After these come the actors who take such parts as the king or the maids of honour. The dancers, that is to say, those who simply dance and do no more, get about sixty rupees; the saingthama, the musicians, receive forty. The company have not more than two or three rehearsals together before they commence their tour, but this does not matter much, because every one knows his part well, and the cue is not a matter of supreme importance. The zat-ôk (the manager) draws all the money from the performances. As much as 450 rupees have been paid for a two-night performance. This, however, was exceptional, and it was a marionette play with the great Maung Tha Byaw in the prince's part. Very few people

When the monsoon rains become heavy and steady in late June or early July the fields are plowed with a succession of bullock-drawn implements. The first is a single-toothed harrow, followed by a six-toothed plow. Finally, the soil is gone over with a seven-bladed revolving share. If the ground is not yet sufficiently churned up, a harrow with a large number of teeth may be used. 243

A few days before the planting time the paddy seed is soaked and placed in a wooden cask, the top of which is packed with hay and cow dung. This promotes germination of the seed.

The seed is broadcast sown.* The sower begins at the outermost edge of the field and works his way towards the center, walking in increasingly smaller circles. Beginning at six o'clock in the morning and working until four o'clock in the afternoon, with an interval at mid-morning for his meal and again in the early afternoon for a nap, a sower can cover ten acres in a day. It requires one basket of seed (ca. 48 lbs.) to sow one acre. It is said by villagers that when one is experienced at broadcasting of paddy seeds, regular rows of plants result. 243 512

During the period of about seven days required for the sown seeds to sprout, the cultivators weed the fields, block off water channels, and build up the embankments between fields. About forty days after sowing, when the plants have reached a height of several inches, some necessary thinning is done. Two inches is regarded as the optimum space between plants. Where they are growing closer together some are pulled up and re-planted in thinner areas. 243

Once sowing and thinning has been completed, in mid- to late August, there is little work for the cultivators until harvest time in December, except for frequent visits to the fields to make sure that the water is sufficient and evenly distributed.

At the harvest season, the cultivator and his hired field laborers work in teams of two. One team cuts the paddy about eighteen inches from the top with small hand sickles. These tools are made of good steel blades, obtained in the Rangoon bazaars, which are affixed to handles of buffalo horn. The paddy cutters are followed by another team, which cuts the paddy stalk close to the ground. In the case of hired field laborers doing this work, the prevailing wage is 12 to 16 rupees (ca. $2.50 to $3.50) per acre for paddy cutters, and twenty rupees (ca. $4.00) per acre for stalk cutters. The higher wage for the latter type of work is paid because it is considered harder. Sometimes such field laborers are remunerated in paddy rather than in monetary wages. 243 465 436

The cut paddy is gathered into small piles, about an armful around, which are left in the fields a few days to dry. Then they are bound as sheaves and transported in bullock carts to a cleared area nearer the domestic area, which serves as a threshing floor. 243

Threshing is accomplished by leading bullocks, yoked together and muzzled to prevent their eating the grain, over the paddy sheaves. The bullocks are

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* This method is not common in Burma. One cultivator, when queried concerning the reason for this method, stated: "The land here is not fertile, and though the transplantation method would give a higher yield, the added labor cost would not justify it." [KB]

also used to do this. Sometimes they are able to extract about 5 viss of oil each in one day. 226 463 621

"There are also cultivators in the village. Some of those who work INS also own fields. They rent out the land to tenants. There are altogether 12 people in our village who own cultivation fields. But the biggest landowner does not own lands more extensive than three hundred acres. Some own 40 or 50 acres. Some engage cultivators and work their fields themselves, while others rent out the fields for a certain percentage of the produce. 421 463 621 427

"There were paid workers in the IN. They were paid, not a daily wage, but a monthly salary of Rs. 30/- without food. About 50 of the 80 workers were paid workers, though some of them owned shares as well. In addition to their pay, these paid workers received quite a lot of fish which their families went around selling. They get one or two basket-loads of fish to sell, and in this way make quite a lot of money. 226 463 465

"Fish is not distributed in this manner every day - only when the fish start coming down in great numbers. On these occasions however the workers get about 25 to 30 viss each - that is, by the boatload. Ordinarily they are given just enough for one meal.

"I also own eleven cows; eight for loaning out to cultivators and three for breeding purposes. No milk is drawn for human consumption because that is not the custom in our native place." 231 [272]

One yoke of oxen hired out brought U Myaing 50 baskets of paddy a year. He had 4 yokes. They kept by 100 baskets for home consumption and sold the rest at a rate fluctuating between Rs. 100/- and Rs. 175/- per hundred baskets.

In those years when U Myaing works at INS, he has to confine himself to such work only. During those years when he does not work at INS, he buys the fish from IN workers and process them for sale as NGAGYI, NGA-CHAUK, etc. Each year he uses between four to five thousand fish. When U Myain his co-workers could not get an IN, he had to buy fish and make NGA-CHAUK, (dried fish), NGAPI and NGANPYAR-YE. 226 463 433

On his former visits to Rangoon U Myaing came in a boat loaded with NGAGYI CHAUK (dried NGA GYI) and transferred it to the care of a broker in Rangoon. He then ascended the Shwe Dagon pagoda platform, donated money and water, returned to the broker, and went around the town to places like Mogul Street (the Indian quarter) for meats and ate pillau-rice etc. It took three or four days, and sometimes about ten days for the broker to dispose of his goods and in this time he would go round all the pagodas in Rangoon like the Botataung, Sule, Nga-hlaut-gyi etc. Once he went to a Chinese hotel known as the NAN-HIN hotel together with some traders from DABEHTU. They pooled the expenses. The journey home took a day and a night. He took back with him clothes, longyis, KINGYIS, durian fruit, 226 438 484 [778]

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oranges, guava fruit, mangosteen fruit - together worth about forty or fifty rupees. When he arrived at Pathwe this was distributed among the members of his family, and also some relatives and the phongyis. On one such trip he made Rs. 2700/- which he carried back hidden away in a jar of salt.

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U Myaing never came in to Rangoon purely for a visit. Besides bringing down fish, U Myaing also came to Rangoon before the war to buy some motor parts and accessories such as tyres, tubes, etc. which they could not obtain in Pathwe village or in Pantanaw town. At that period in his life U Myaing used to drive a bus between Pathwe and the village on the bank of the river across from Pathwe. There was a cart track for a road, and they used to carry passengers at a rupee per head. In the rains this cart track became impossible and so they traversed this route only from TA-ZAUNG-BON to KASON months. U Myaing worked on this route for three summers. In the rains they shifted operations to the Maubin Ye Le route, which was a 10 mile journey, and occasionally the 10 mile route from Ye Le to HSE-DAING-

[491] MAW. He worked at these places for two rainy seasons, from WASO right up till the month of TA-ZAUNG-BON. The bus was owned by his cousin who collected all the earnings for each day. At that time bus drivers were hired at Rs. 45/- a month, plus sweet tea, food, shelter and one packet of cigarettes a day. "In Pathwe all the houses were too large and could accomodate a great many more people than they actually did. This was because each one erected his own building after the example of the other houses in the village. The person who hired the bus driver merely installed him in his home".

[589] This was when U Myaing was 17 or 18 years old. He was not paid anything, but the family was provided with everything they needed - food, clothes, etc. (U Myaing was still unmarried and the family

[582] consisted of two sisters, his mother and himself. (He did not marry

[431] till the age of thirty.) Both U Myaing and Daw Aw Zar estimated that the things they received from the bus owner would have amounted to much more than forty five rupees' worth.

Comparison of Work in Pathwe and Camp

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In his role as a refugee U Myaing is reduced from an expanding position as a fisherman in a cooperative enterprise to a transient labourer. He lives for the day of return to his village, and lacks the desire and know-how to adapt to a successful career in his new environment. His pattern of work as a labourer has not been broken he is simply doing a different kind of work. But it is now unskilled and lacks promise of development. Similarly, his wife's role has not appreciably changed: she continues to make mats as in the village in hard times; works as a coolie as a substitute for her contributions in processing fish. The eldest daughter has adapted to an urban trade that of cigar rolling, but is well within the pattern of juvenile work carried on in the village at this time. If the family remained in Rangoon, the children would of course adapt completely to the urban work pattern - but is seems improbable that the parents would.

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The reduction in income from work can be seen in the following table:

Estimate of Family Average Income per year

Family Work	Income in Pathwe	Camp
Selling Fish Products	1,500	
Mat making	150	600
Cattle Loaning	200	
Day Labour		1,032
Miscellaneous (gathering, etc.)	900	
Daughter Ma Yin Shwe		240
Government Help		372
Total	2,750	2,144

The purchasing power of the rupee in Camp is not ~~wi~~ toto appreciably different from that of Pathwe. The security of Pathwe work was not so much in the surplus which results, but rather in the guaranteed sources of work. Life was easy and a living to be had for the taking. In camp existence is hand to mouth with no real security. U Myaing expresses this when asked about his knowledge of world affairs. "We don't know whether the world situation has improved or not. We get some of information, but our main worry is work - and how to provide

sufficient food for myself and my family." Yet, it is significant that he[1] manifests no anxiety symtoms, and appears happy and carefree. This suggests that despite the fact that he is presented with insecurity he does not react to it with tensions that have nervous manifestations. The sense of insecurity does not seem to be in his pattern of living, consequently his response is ill-defined.

The points of difference that U Myaing especially emphasized were:-

1. A few weeks of intensive work in Pathwe would get him more than a whole year of salary working in Rangoon.

2. His income in Rangoon is established at a low level. In Pathwe he might make 3 or 4 times his average income from fish products in a good year. On bad years he might just break even. But this did not affect his everyday living quality - since his food was for the most part gathered (fish, fruits etc.) or secured from the cattle loan (baskets of rice).

3. If he was sick in Pathwe his standard of living was not threatened. He made his cash in a short time and had ample leisure for resting. In Rangoon if he does not work he does not eat.

4. In Pathwe he usually had a surplus of 1000 to 1500 rupees on hand during a year. To be lent out (free of interest) to friends and relatives or (usually) invested in fish or family accoutrement. Now he lives from hand to mouth.

5. The loss of comfort and ease is severely felt by the adults. In Rangoon he works to stay alive, in Pathwe, to enjoy a full life.

[1 i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

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as a roller, and as the aunt from whom she is learning embroidery went into confinement quite recently, she has returned home to the camp. When this aunt had her child, Daw Aw Zar had to go and keep her company for a period of twenty days. Ma Aye Myaing made one or two visits to inquire into her progress. The actual delivery was performed not by Daw Aw Zar, but by someone else, a midwife. When Ma Aye Myaing gives birth to her child the other relatives are sure to offer help, especially if she had the baby in her own home. However, there are only about ten families from Pathwe in Rangoon and out of that number only two or three will be able to come. There would be no need to ask them to come - they would come of their own accord if they heard the news. At present they live in distant parts of Rangoon town. In Pathwe, on an occasion like this everyone comes to ask after the health of the mother and child, even though they may be no relations at all. On the seventh day after birth the house is washed and all visitors to the house are provided with scented water to wash their hair - and it is also sent to those elders who are unble to come. The water is scented with the cream of TAUNG-DAN-GYI, MATHAPYU and KALAMET roots. Enough scented water is provided for about 60 visitors. Most of the visitors are women and girls - very few young men come.

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In Rangoon it is very easy to earn two or three rupees in one day as labourers, while in Pathwe even the worker who worked at the INS for a monthly wage was paid only twenty to thirty rupees. But to offset that, the prices in Pathwe were very much lower than those in Rangoon. MNAPI workers earn Rs. 10/- a month, and the foreman for the MNAPI workers is paid Rs 15/- a month. This salary of ten rupees was more than sufficient for buying decent clothing and other necessities. These men had to be fed by their employer. The IN workmen who earned twenty to thirty rupees a month had to find their own food.

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U Myaing has made some friends among his fellow workers in Rangoon and has visited the house of 2or3 of them, but even this was not a social visit, as he went there to enquire about their work.

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structure of the social and political organization is the same in both places. However, the expectations and obligations of the original village are ill defined perhaps for the reason that the camp families no longer depend so completely on each other for their social and ceremonial activities. In Pathwe, U Myaing and his family were responsible citizens of the village as a whole. In camp, they are merely temporary residents with only the most rudimentary of obligations to their fellow refugees. The basic functions of the camp are carried out by semi-official persons. There is a minimum of feeling of solidarity in the camp where the immediate family is the major functioning unit.

Much has been lost with the passing of the communal activities of the small village. Yet the basic social and ceremonial activities

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are still carried out in Rangoon. The community has become a large, impersonal one but the values are the same. The activities, as at the gigantic Shwe Dagon pagoda, duplicate those of the village on a grand scale and are hence more stimulating - but the family is no longer in a special status position and are nameless and unknown in their activities. Because of lack of money the activities are greatly curtailed in scope, but also the obligation is less. In this sense the family is "freed" from pressing obligations of the village where, for example, they were expected to contribute relatively large sums to community activities.

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The familiar and beloved flavour of routine village activities is replaced by the excitment of life in the big town. Everything is new and different and while the basic understandings are still encountered the old restrictions of the small community have disappeared. Life in Rangoon is full of possibilities and amusement.

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Recently (during the summer of 1951) U Myaing was promoted from street cleaner to boss of the cleaners of one section. He still gets a salary of Rs. 86/- a month but has the position of an overseer somewhat equivalent in status to the IH overseer's job in Pathwe. There are many opportunities for an honest and intelligent person to rise in Rangoon. In October 1951 U Myaing visited me to take an order for

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table mats. His samples were much too large and bound with a violent

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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115. WATER SCOOP (KA-HNWE).

for fodder, the corn is cut close to the ground, having first been laid by pressing it down with bamboos, which makes it easier. For reaping, the villagers co-operate. But in the plains of the delta, where cultivation has extended so greatly, there is not labour enough on the spot to reap the crop. Harvest labourers come down from Burma Proper and also large numbers from the south of India (p. 159). In the plains reapers get their two meals and a quarter of a bushel of grain a day or the equivalent in money (p. 56). In the hills a reaper gets a bushel a day for his labour. The common wages of daily labour are about half a rupee in Pegu, and a quarter less in Burma Proper. Before 1850, when the export trade began, wages were only half as much.

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The sheaves are left to dry for a day in the sun and then gathered into garbs. These are piled on a dry field into a circular heap some three feet high, and broad enough for a herd of buffaloes to tramp round upon and tread the grain off the ear, to which it is attached by a slender petiole. Another way is to pile the garbs in a high crescent-shaped heap, round the central space of which four to six head of cattle are made to travel abreast and tread the garbs which are cast down from above. The grain keeps best in the husk and is stored in bins of bamboo wattle smeared with clay (*sabaji*, Nos. 119, 120).

The covering of the rice-grain is a strong adherent husk like that of barley, but mostly without any beard. Rice in the husk is called *Sahl* (Engl. paddy).

116. CUTTING THE CROP IN THE GREAT PLAIN.